1: Thurston & Rangachari E,G-4,5 (no date) 1909
AWSO Badaga AWSO

173 them with their magic arts, and indeed killed by sorcery several of their most prominent citizens."*

612 Like other Canarese people, the Badagas have exogamous septs or kūlas, of which Māri, Madhave (marriage), Kastūri (musk), and Belli (silver) are examples. A very large number of families belong to the Māri and Madhave septs, which were time after time given as the sept name in reply to my enquiries. It may be noted that Belli occurs as an exogamous sept of the Canarese classes Vakkaliga, Toreya, and Kuruba, and Kastūri is recorded in my notes as a sept of the Vakkaligas and Telugu Kammas.

361 The Badagas dwell in extensive villages, generally situated on the summit of a low hillock, composed of
• 342 rows of comfortable thatched or tiled houses, and surrounded by the fields, which yield the crops. The houses are not separate tenements, but a line of dwellings under one continuous roof, and divided by party
[363] walls. Sometimes there are two or three, or more lines, forming streets. Each house is partitioned off into an
342 outer (edumane) and inner apartment (ozhaga or
[343] ōgamane). If the family has cows or buffaloes yielding
[562] milk, a portion of the latter is converted into a milk-house (hāgōttu), in which the milk is stored, and which
[783] no woman may enter. Even males who are under pollution, from having touched or passed near a Kota or Paraiyan, or other cause, may not enter it until they
342 have had a ceremonial bath. To some houses a loft, made of bamboo posts, is added, to serve as a store-house. In every Badaga village there is a raised
349 platform composed of a single boulder or several stones
[361] with an erect stone slab set up thereon, called sūththu

* Gazetteer of the Nilgiris.

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

121	F. Patrilineal clan	(exogamous; widespread)
	G. Phratry	(endogamous or sometimes exogamous; widespread)
	H. Moiety	(endogamous or sometimes exogamous; Nilgiri-wide)
	I. Badaga community	(generally endogamous; Nilgiri-wide)
	J. Fourteen *kolas* or septs	(exogamous; in popular belief, South- India-wide)

THE JOINT PATRILOCAL FAMILY

592 [611] The Badaga family is always patrilineal and nearly always patrilocal. Because of the power it wields a joint family is the ideal and every third generation typically passes through this desired [591] state. Thus a young couple establish a new home in the village of the groom's father. Their children, if male, should remain in the same house with their parents, or be married into another village if female. Then the young men take brides from villages of affines, bring them to the parental home and raise their children there. At this juncture there would be three generations living under the same roof: (1) unmarried grandchildren, (2) unmarried daughters, [591] married sons and their wives, (3) the parents. On the death of the founding father the brothers are expected to leave his house and establish separate homes. The dispersal of the household has three causes—architectural, legal, and psychological. The first is that [342] [362] Badaga houses have only two or three fairly small rooms and by the time that three generations, two of them with spouses, are occupying one house there is an acute shortage of space—a situation which may be aggravated by polygyny. The legal cause [428] [736] of dispersal is ultimogeniture: Badaga law requires that the youngest son inherit his father's house and at the same time take care of the widowed mother (Rivers, 1906, 559–560). Financial provision should be made for all older brothers to build separate [362] houses. The psychological causes are the total lack of privacy and [593] the elder brothers' uneasy feeling of indebtedness to the youngest brother who legitimately owns the house. A further complication is that in recent years one brother working in an office has become

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

supply their Badaga partners when they find it is the bezoar, a hairy ball that accumulates in the paunch of some buffaloes. Eating a little of this is believed to make a baby strong, brave and manly; and so all Badagas—whether vegetarian or not, and even though quite cognizant of its polluting origin—feed some of it to their newborn sons.

Some Kotas are adept carpenters. In the days when Badagas were still using ploughs they obtained these from their Kota partners, who had made them from some wood supplied by the Toda partners of the Badagas. Kota men sometimes made the heavy wooden pounding-stick found in all Badaga households: in this case the wood was first obtained from the jungle slopes by the Kurumbas of one particular settlement, who passed it on to the Toda who had asked them for it. This Toda would then give the timber to the Toda partner of the Badaga needing the pounder. He in turn passed it on to the Badaga's Kota partner to whittle into a pounder. This is the most complex traditional network we know of in the Nilgiris.

Kota partners were also employed to help build houses or cattlesheds for their Badaga partners. In this case, too, if the Badaga's Toda partner were a relatively affluent man he would supply timber for the purpose. If the Kota were an affluent man he might give food to his own helpers who carried the timber from the Toda source. Similarly, the Badaga partner might get the timber that was needed for a Kota's house. There was in fact considerable flexibility in these intertribal connexions.

When a Badaga house is being built the Kota partner has to place a piece of iron in the foundations to drive away bad spirits; ghosts and demons abhor iron (as elsewhere across the Old World). A comparable ritual at the completion of a new Badaga cattleshed requires that the owner's Kota partner bring a crowbar and lay it across the threshold over which the first cow[7] to enter must step.

The Badagas very literally hold a house-warming ceremony in a newly built house, when the hearth is first built. The Kota partner of the owner must also attend this, bringing a new pot with him. This is essential, for grain has to be boiled in it during the ritual. Another Kota will also be less directly involved in this ceremony, as the mother's brother of the house owner also has to bring another pot for the same purpose from *his* Kota partner.

Until this century Kota men were usually requested to thatch Badaga houses. This service has, however, been discontinued: in

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

1900 or a little before, thatch was replaced by tiled rooves which were considered more convenient, safe and prestigeful; and the Kotas do not generally lay tiles.

For at least the past century Badagas and Kotas have been building their houses of locally made bricks. Kota bricklayers have built Badaga houses, and Badaga bricklayers have also built Kota houses. In either case the traditional ties are not necessarily involved, if only because so very few Badagas or Kotas can lay bricks properly. In these situations payment is generally made in cash according to recognized rates for the labour performed.

Badaga Products

Apart from the annual grant of grain and cloth to Kotas, their Badaga partners used to give them whatever cattle died. 'All the cattle that die in the villages are carried off by the Kotas, and feasted on by them . . . and at no time do the Kotas thrive so well as when there is a murrain among the herds of the Todas and Badagas' (Metz, 1864, 128).

Although Badagas and Todas used to exchange cattle on occasion, no such trade ever took place between Kotas and Badagas; indeed until the mid-nineteenth century the other communities would not allow Kotas to own any buffaloes, and after they did have some they still did not milk them (Reclus, 1891; 192; Thurston, 1909, vol. IV, 7). The Kotas would eat every Badaga or Toda buffalo that died, however, or would kill and eat an aging beast (normally a bull) given them for the purpose; but it is noteworthy that once they started keeping herds they would never eat any of their own buffalo carcasses.[8]

Another item for which the Kotas looked to the Badagas in the last century was opium. Good quality opium was produced on the Nilgiris at that time, but the Badagas seem to have held a monopoly on it. Today anyone can buy poppy capsules illicitly in the town markets (Thurston, 1909, vol. IV, 9).

Irregular Services

There are certain services which Kotas are called upon to render only when some unusual situation arises. Thus Kotas do not normally help their Badaga partners to harvest the crops; but if a

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

(651) (664) (434) cash wage (Grigg, 1880, 34, 471; see above, pp. 149, 152).

Greatly increased contact with markets and with Europeans provided the impetus towards full participation in the cash economy, yet this transition took a century to complete. For the vast majority the basic requirements of food, goods and services continued to be provided either by their own efforts or by their Toda, Kota and Kurumba associates. The itinerant Chetti trader continued to make monthly visits, as he still does. From 1825 onwards Badagas could visit local markets on the plateau for what they had previously bought in Gudalupe:te and Ka:ramudu, but they never sold very much in the markets and thus rarely had spare cash to spend. In the early days of cash-crop farming very few Badagas had enough knowledge or personal contacts to arrange the bulk sale of their produce in a distant market. They used to sell their crops instead to a broker in the Nilgiris, until it became known that a farmer who could find a market and negotiate a sale by himself would make bigger profits. An important motivation was the desire to acquire consumer goods that were now becoming available on a scale and in a variety never before known to the Badagas. Later in the nineteenth century there is evidence of increasing affluence which found expression in the shift from thatched to tiled rooves. '... in 1871 only 1,914 houses out of the 13,922 in the district were tiled; whereas now [1908] tiles are the rule ... in Badaga villages' (Francis, 1908, 130, compare Shortt & Ouchterlony, 1868, 58; Grigg, 1880, 29, 225; 'Geofry', 1881, 132). For the farming family engaged in marketing their crops, cash was necessarily the only medium of exchange, and much of their foodstuffs had to be bought in the town bazaar. A great variety of items was also being purchased, the most obvious of which were new clothes: in the 1890s men first began to sport European-style shirts and jackets, and in the 1930s women started to wear coloured *sa:ris* (B.E.M.S., 1897, no. 58, 90; Hockings, 1979a).

178 [177] (442) (342) (432) (291)

We may say that their commitment to the cash economy was complete by about 1930, in which year most Badagas permanently severed their traditional exchange relationship with the Kotas. This from the Badaga point of view was an advantageous move, for it allowed them to buy pottery, ropes and metal goods in the bazaar at a lower price than the Kotas commanded, and without delays. While the Kotas had not been receiving cash, the traditional dole of grain they were given at each harvest was becoming

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

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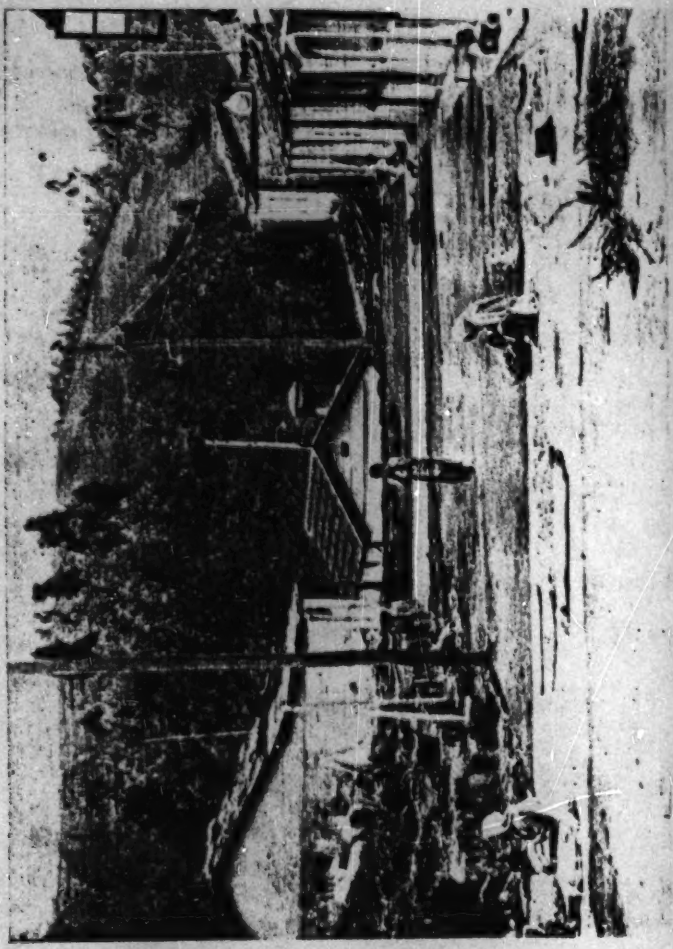

[following p. 248-B]

2: Hockings E-4,5 (1962-1977) 1980
AN50 Badaga AN50

Plate Section

361 Plate 1 A typical Badaga hamlet (Dimbatti), above the valley floor but sheltered by a hill from the south-west monsoons. Note the strips of land running downhill. The well in the foreground is new.

342 Plate 2 Typical work-space (ke:ri) in front of houses in Ka:te:ri. The two-story house is a twentieth-century innovation. The poles carry electricity to most houses.

291 Plate 3 A Toda couple, both wearing embroidered shawls (pu:tkuly).

301 643 Plate 4 Pâda Râja Gowder, paramount chief of the Badagas since 1956, and headman of Tu:ne:ri. His gold earrings are of a traditional design.

302 877 Plate 5 Two schoolgirls carrying their lunch, O:ranayi hamlet. Both have an auspicious mark on the brow.

Plate 6 Sithamma, grandmother of the girls in Plate 5; she lived in O:ranayi, was a traditional Lingayat, and a noted herbal therapist. Her gold ornaments are traditional.

302 759 Plate 7 Kumba:ras in Kempola hamlet, here enshrouded in mist.

000 Plate 8 Kotas from Kolmel playing for Lingayats dancing during a funeral at the neighbouring hamlet of O:ranayi, 1963. Women do not dance in public.

777 764 Plate 9 Cattle threshing grain on a work-space in O:ranayi. The hired labourers are non-Badagas.

243 231 Plate 10 Women's work-group outside a house in Ki:kunda village. All wear sarees in place of the traditional dress.

496 291 Plate 11 The Goddess Hette with bell, a wreathed *linga*, and a tray with plantain and half-coconut offerings, decorating a Lingayat temple in Ka:te:ri.

778 782 Plate 12 Council of elders at Ke:ti village. The commune headman is on the extreme left, in white.

623 632

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

854 [603] repeatedly saw K. Sithamma at the age of 75 suckling a small grandchild to quieten it.)

5.13. The arrival of a new baby necessarily brings changes in the 854 513 •342 [753] sleeping habits of a couple. When it is dusk the door of the house must be closed tight, for fear that a "bad wind" or evil spirit might enter and make the baby sick. This is compulsory until the fifth or sixth month of life: the door may not be opened again, even momentarily, until just before sunrise. If the father has not yet come home at dusk, then either the baby will go to a neighbouring house for the night or the father will have to sleep in one of them when he returns. In later infancy the door should be closed for the night at about 10 o'clock, and this practice will continue until the child is weaned.

854 513 855 [853] When sleeping with her baby a woman's body is entirely nude, for if she wore clothes they would prevent heat from reaching the child from her body. Until a baby is six or seven months old the mother is advised to sleep with her back to it, and never to sleep while suckling: these precautions result from the fear the child may be suffocated by a breast. Thus if the mother wants to roll over on the bed she must first move the baby over. Usually the youngest one or two children sleep between their parents for warmth, with the unweaned infant always next to the mother. Alternatively mother and baby may use one bed, the father and older children occupying another bed. Sleeping with one's children is not altogether a comfortable situation: "The man who is sleeping with children and the man who is eating raw animal flesh are alike"—both experience difficulties. Other older children in the family may sleep together, but after reaching seven or eight girls sleep separately from their brothers, or else with their mother.

833 834 5.14. If a mother has intercourse right after giving birth this weakens the womb for the next delivery, Badagas believe, and so they generally do not do it until five or six months afterwards. One man told me he had enjoyed his wife about three weeks after two of his children were born, and the children died after 52 and 54 days, presumably because of the weakening of their mother's milk. Because of such dangers men used to ask a new father in earlier days, "Are you wearing your loincloth at night?" The cloth was considered sufficient restraint on his passion.

41 Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

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Ka:te:ri, a representative village

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A work-yard in O:ranayi village

[B-120-D]

4: Hockings E-5 (1962-1977) 1980
AW50 Badaga AW50

day or two before the healthy villagers return home all those who have been suffering from smallpox and have stayed in the hamlet leave it early in the morning, and stay in the jungle for a day or two themselves; nowadays they go to a town instead. By leaving early, nobody else runs the risk of setting eyes on them. They must go beyond the hamlet boundary; the intention of this being that if any smallpox remains with them somebody of a different hamlet may catch it. They return home on the evening after the rest of the inhabitants have returned, so that the latter can find a deserted hamlet at the time of their re-entry.

When this day comes the men and boys gather together their cattle and drive them into the hamlet; the implication being that it is no longer a settlement but a grazing ground. The people follow the cattle, shouting "*hau hau*" ("*Hooray!*" a ceremonial cry of jubilation), then gather up the dry thorn bushes on the work-yards and burn them. Along the front of each Badaga house is a line of flat stones set into the work-yard and projecting about a foot from the house wall. These are called *ucce gare* (lit. "urine slab"), since in the old days people could bathe or urinate on them at night without fully leaving the house and so exposing themselves to the witchcraft of Kurumbas. On returning to the hamlet somebody from each household gets a crowbar, raises one of these slabs out of the ground, and then replaces it. This brief act symbolizes building the house anew.

It is only after 19 days have passed since this ceremonial re-entry that a person from a recently evacuated hamlet can either visit another or receive visitors from one: 19 days, because 18 days is said to be the maximum period between a new moon and a full one, or *vice versa*. Following the eighteenth day after the hamlet re-entry a communal funeral is held for all the people who have died during the smallpox epidemic. This is done with

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)

AW50 Badaga AW50
Irula AW53
Kota AW55
Toda AW60
Madras Tribes AW63
Kasuva

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front-gabled, and conical huts, combined with a religious-economic system based upon buffalo herding.

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Badagas on the upper Nilgiris reside in side-gabled houses built into rows, in which there are also temples similar to houses. During the 1800s the Thoraiyas assisted these Badagas in the production of subsistence millets and condiments or opium for sale. Badagas residing in the Nilgiri Wynaad occupy hipped-roof houses and cultivate wet rice with the assistance of Paniyas. Some upper Nilgiri Badagas seasonally herd livestock on western upper Nilgiri grasslands and reside in assorted huts while there. In the Mysore Ditch an economic

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liaison between upper Nilgiri Badagas and Kasuvas has led to the herding of Badaga livestock by Kasuvas. The Kasuvas occupy distinctive side-gabled dwellings within permanent livestock centers.

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There have been similarities between the dwellings and agriculture of the upper Nilgiri Badagas and Kotas since the early 1800s. However, in contrast to Badagas, Kotas have front-gabled temples not built into house-rows. They also vary from Badagas by being basket makers, blacksmiths, carpenters, musicians, and potters. The Nilgiri Wynaad Kotas, who reside in Government-built houses within an expanding urban center, grow wet rice and continue the traditional trades.

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[175]

Irulas occupying eastern Nilgiri slopes live in side-gabled houses within rows and maintain separate distinctive memorial-temples. In the early 1800s they were partially supported by garden produce and millets, but seasonally depended upon hunting and the gathering of yams.

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)

AW50 Badaga AW50
Kota AW55
Kurumba AW56
Toda AW60
Madras Tribes AW63
Kasuva

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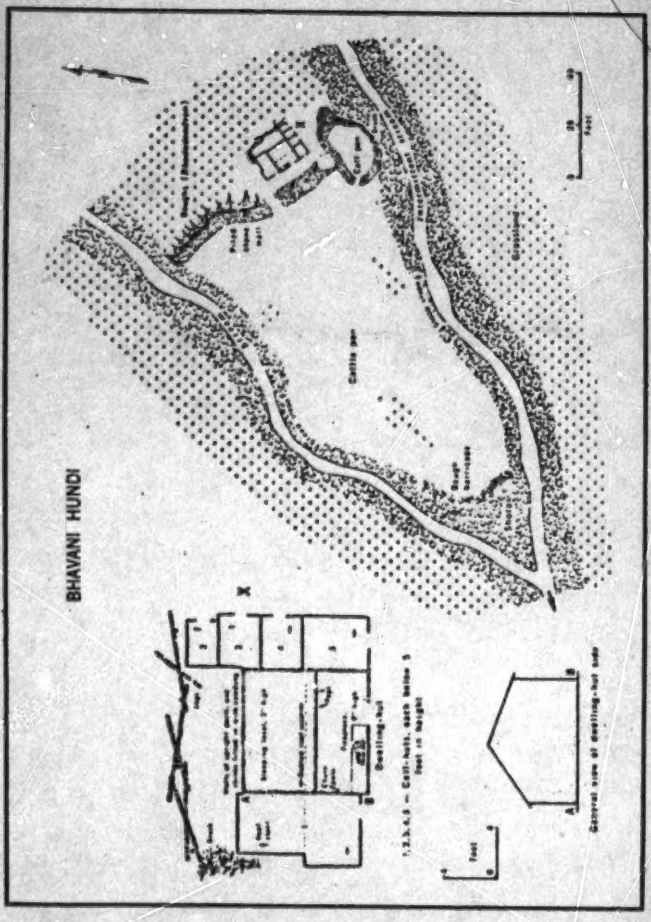

Figure 11. A Badaga seasonal livestock center

234 wall, and a bough barricade. The dwelling-hut has a low sleeping
361 level, the necessary churn-pole for processing milk, and a fireplace
(342) set in a low platform. Five calf-huts surround the dwelling-hut, and there is also a separate calf-pen. All the hut walls were constructed with posts placed next to each other, and roofs were thatched. Kinkara Hundi, also used in 1963 and located close to Bhavani Hundi, is situated next to a stream and extensive shola (Figure 12). Post, branch, and log fences enclose a large circular cattle-pen, a smaller
(343) cattle-pen, and a calf-pen. There are three calf-huts next to a dwelling hut. The calf-huts have post walls, and the dwelling-hut has stone walls. Grass thatching was placed over all the roofs.

During the 1963 season only one group of Badaga shepherds was
234 contacted by the writer (Plate III, D). The seven men taking turns
361 in living at Kinkara Hundi were herding 92 buffaloes and 40 cattle.
(221) Livestock driven westward in February were to be taken back in May. The herders came from Ithalar and Poratti, where they left wives and other relatives during the dry season preceding the main agricultural
234 season. Milk was daily supplied by the Badagas to tea shops near the
439 upper Bhavani dam site, where all activities ceased during the westerly monsoon. Clarified butter was sold in the Ootacamund shandy.
(484) The daily walk to the tea shops was about six miles one way, while on periodic walks to Ootacamund by a different herder each time a distance exceeding 20 miles was covered. Grains and other edibles were
262 obtained from homes, stalls near the dam site, and the Ootacamund
(439) shandy. Milk and milk products, excluding clarified butter, also
234 formed a part of their diet. Livestock were being milked only in the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 691]

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)

AV50 Badaga AV50 ●
Irula AV53
Kota AV55
Kurumba AV56
Toda AV60

TABLE I

PRESENT DAY PASTORALISTS VERSUS IRULAS AND KURUMBAS

Categories overlaid are not applicable.

GROUP	OCCURRENCE SITES	ASSOCIATED CENTERS	OCCURRENCE TYPES	MAIN ASPECTS OF THE ECONOMY
TODAS	•Permanent and seasonal hamlets •Dairy-temple centers	•Agnatic female and male cremation centers	•Barrel-vaulted, fresh-grabled, and side-gabled dwellings •Conical and barrel-vaulted dairy-temples •Barrel-vaulted funeral-temples	•Sacred and secular buffalo rearing •Sale of clarified butter; some sale of fresh milk •Income from land rental •Limited farming: potato cultivation to tea planting •Limited gathering: roots, fruits, honey •Sale of cloths embroidered by women •Employment in occupations ranging from gardening to nursing •Income from tourists
TODAS PERSONALITIES 1) Mormani	•One permanent dairy-temple center		•Inner dairy-temple functionally the same as side-gabled temples in hamlets (see Table IV)	•Sacred buffalo rearing •Production of clarified butter for rituals •Income from an annual festival; donations from worshipers
2) Dantalo	•Seasonal livestock centers			•Buffalo and cattle rearing •Sale of clarified butter and milk
3) Bokaga - Kanan Ilaiam	•Permanent livestock centers		•Fresh-gabled and side-gabled houses	•Buffalo and cattle breeding •Reserve grazing for upper Nilgiri livestock •Sale of clarified butter
KOTA PERSONALITIES	•Two seasonal livestock centers			•Buffalo rearing •Some sale of clarified butter
IRULAS	•Permanent hamlets	•Burial-memorial and worship centers	•Side-gabled houses •Sloped-roof memorial-temples	•Agriculture:- multilayer, simple layer, and kitchen gardens - dry field crop cultivation •Livestock rearing: chickens, goats, sheep, some cattle •Limited gathering: yams, fruits, honey •Limited hunting: small to large game, jungle fowl •Trading of homemade baskets, brooms, clarinets, winnowing-fans, gathered honey •Priests' fees •Income from work on plantations
KURUMBAS	•Kadirs, semi-nucleated communities, and dispersed houses	•Burial-cremation, burial-cremation-memorial, memorial, and worship centers		•Agriculture:- similar to the Irulas' •Livestock rearing: no cattle, but rearing of chickens, goats, sheep •Limited gathering: similar to the Irulas' •Limited hunting: similar to the Irulas' •Trading of homemade bone flutes, drying baskets, bamboo vessels, gathered honey •Fees for serving as musicians, healers, magicians •Income from work on plantations

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)
AW50 Badaga AW50
Kota AW55

B Ko 433 [241] and other cereals, and probably from their kitchen gardens obtained most produce which was bartered or sold. In the later part of the last century shifting slash-burn agriculture was legally abolished. During this century the Badagas and Kotas abandoned the use of plows and turned to commercial potato production. Economic differentiation between the two groups is based mainly on the fact that Kotas have been partially supported by basketry, blacksmithing, carpentry, hide curing, pot making, and the playing of music. These supplementary activities of the Kotas, practiced to varying degrees by other Indian groups, are commonly associated with low social ranking.

1. The Badagas

B 961 [175] [311] B [342] B 243 [351] [361] B 241 [361] Occupance pattern. Most Badaga hamlets and villages are located above 6,000 feet and east of the grasslands inhabited mainly by Todas (Figure 2). Harkness' description of Hanjanad before 1832 indicates that the basic Badaga occupance pattern remains unchanged. There was cultivated land around the village, and cattle grazed on nearby grasslands. Houses aligned horizontally into two house-rows on a hill side had joined front porches facing the down slope. A flat courtyard before each house-row was used to hand-thresh and dry grain in the sun. Both courtyards were edged on the outside by low stone walls. At one end of the village there was a compacted circle on which cattle trod out grain, and at the other end there were several cattle enclosures (Harkness 1832: 36-37). Badaga farmers continue to live together in communities, and they cultivate nearby kitchen gardens plus near to distant dry fields (Plate X, A). Coffee, tea, and multilayer gardens

231 caused some rearers of livestock to start keeping compost pits. In
654 each hamlet or village there is usually a grassy clearing or raised
368 platform where male representatives meet and Badagas gather to chit-
chat. A large tree (often a Ficus sp.) may shade this meeting place.
512 Some Badaga women still must fetch water from nearby springs or
streams, but many Badaga hamlets and villages now have water piped to
368 faucets set near house-rows. A burial-cremation center is within easy
walking distance from each Badaga community. Most Badaga communities
491 have roads running to or through them, and a fair number of these
363 roads are asphalted. Scheduled buses run over some roads, and a few
494 Badagas now drive individually or jointly owned cars, buses, station
493 wagons, and trucks.

Houses. Prior to 1840 the Badagas lived in a house type with
175 front porches and two rooms separated by a wall with a door. A small
•342 front door led into one room, and there was a fireplace in the other
[354] darker room. Thatched roofs were supported by posts, and walls made
(824) with bamboos or reeds woven between the posts were then daubed. How-
(333) ever, some houses had clay and stone walls (Harkness 1832: 36; Birch
1838: 103; Hough 1829: 89). According to data obtained by Jagor
342 (1876: 193-194), each thatched clay and stone house in an examined
house-row had an entranceway leading on the right to a front room.
This room had a right side storage platform and a mortar built into
the floor on the left. From the front room a door led to a bathroom
extending the full width of the house, and another door led to a
(354) kitchen paralleling the front room. The fireplace for cooking was

located across from the latter door. At the right of each entranceway there was a low porch and to the left a low porch and small stall, or a stall only. Buffalo calves were sheltered in each stall. The entranceway and features to right or left of it were protected by the single side-gabled roof covering all houses within the row.

By 1870 some houses were whitewashed; by 1880 whitewashing was a more widespread practice and house roofs were being tiled; by 1895 sleeping platforms made from broad and thick planks were replacing interior storage platforms; and by 1935 most Badaga houses had brick or stone walls, tiled roofs, and sleeping platforms (Shortt 1868: 58; Grigg et al. 1880: 225; Sastri 1892: 757; Ranga 1934: 5). However, despite these and other changes, the Badaga house type as described by Jagor and others remains essentially the same (Figure 18). Most houses now have whitewashed brick walls, and roofs are commonly made with sawn timbers, corrugated iron sheets, and tiles. Front entranceways may be located to the right or left. If there is a right entranceway, a sleeping platform replacing the storage platform mentioned by Jagor will be against the right wall of the front room. A mortar in the floor and rotary quern (usually present) will be near the wall on the opposite side, and all other features within the house will be arranged accordingly. If there is a left entranceway, a sleeping platform will be against the left wall, mortar and rotary quern will be near the wall on the opposite side, and all other interior features will accordingly be reversed from left to right. The room for bathing (himbara) no longer runs all the way across the back, but is located behind the front room (ithamanai). The open doorway

TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 127

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)

AW50 Badaga AW50
Kota AW55
Kurumba AW56
Toda AW60
Madras Tribes AW63
Kasuva

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352
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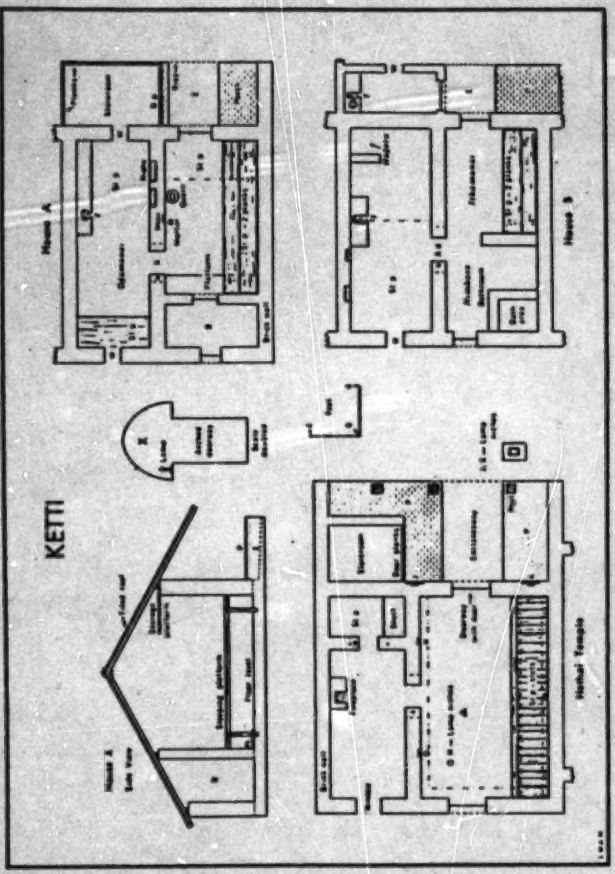

Figure 18. Badaga house (A), Badaga temple, and a Theraiya house (B)

342 between the front room and kitchen (orasanai) is typically arched. Over the kitchen fireplace, opposite the door, there is usually a flat 251 353 woven bamboo and cowdunged drying basket measuring three or more feet across. This is especially useful for drying grains during monsoons. Near the front kitchen wall there may be a sacred hagotu for milk storage and processing, but many houses no longer have this feature. (562) If a hagotu is absent, the front portion of the kitchen is still considered sacred and for men only. An upper storage platform (atlu) 342 usually covers all or a portion of the kitchen. This and small upper storage platforms covering portions of the front room are reached by a ladder which is sometimes set permanently into the central wall with arched door. As in Jagor's time, there is usually a porch to one side of the entranceway. The calf stall on the other side is now replaced by a porch, guest room with or without a fireplace, or a storeroom. Thus, if there is a right entranceway, there will be a porch to the right, and one of the above-mentioned features will replace the stall to the left. This relationship is exactly reversed when there is a left entranceway.

(565) The traditional house type may be modified. Poorer families, or individuals sharing the inherited parental home, may dwell within half-houses formed by sealing in the arched doorway of the central partition. Two arched doorways are then built into two walls constructed about three-fifths the interior distance back from the front wall. The small back rooms will serve as kitchens (Figure 17). Sometimes the basic floor plan is maintained, but the house is so enlarged that its front and back walls no longer are aligned with walls

342 of other houses in the house-row. The front porch area is often converted into an airy room. As a mark of prestige, a few Badagas have erected double-storied houses. The first floors in such buildings may have a floor plan similar to the one found in the traditional house type, but the second floors have mixed rooms arranged in no set pattern. Most of these houses were built during and after World War II, and construction dates are often conspicuously displayed on their fronts. An enlarging minority of Badagas now live in houses which [178] bear no resemblance to the traditional house type. Their houses follow no particular plan and, therefore, represent an odd medley of house forms.

346 Temples. Breeks (1873: Plate LXXV) obtained a photograph showing the old Melur temple, and this is apparently the only record of a circular Badaga temple. Its basal portion had spaced posts standing upright around two or more varying circles with identical center. Sides were not walled and the roof, resembling an old-fashioned beehive, was thatched. Temples forming a Badaga temple type, not described in the literature concerning Badagas, are constructed [342] in house-rows. They sometimes share a common wall with a house or storeroom, but separate temples aligned with houses in a row also [531] exist (Figure 17). Row-temples are constructed with materials now employed in house construction and look rather like houses, but frequent presence of roof superstructures decorated with bulls and deity images automatically sets them apart (Plate X, B). Their design closely parallels the plan used in traditional houses. Porches flank

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G. Noble Kr4,5 (1962-1963) 1969
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AW50 Badaga AW50 •
Kota AW55

TABLE IV

PRESENT DAY BADAGAS AND KOTAS OF THE UPPER NILGIRIS VERSUS THOSE INHABITING THE NILGIRI WYNAAD

Categories omitted are not applicable.

GROUP	OCCUPANCE SITES	ASSOCIATED CONTENT	OCCUPANCE TYPES	MAIN ASPECTS OF THE ECONOMY
BADAGAS : UPPER NILGIRIS	•Hamlets and villages	•Burial-cremation and worship centers	•Side-gabled houses and hall-houses •Side-gabled temples, similar to the houses •Variants of temple with cupola	•Badaga master and Tholuiya servant relationship •Agriculture:- few multilayer, more single layer, and many kitchen gardens • orchards: nectarines, peaches, pears, plums • dry field commercial crop production: mainly potatoes • secondary dry field crop production: amaranths, barley, millets, wheat •Acacia and eucalyptus trees grown for bark tannin, eucalyptus oil, and firewood •Livestock rearing: chickens, buffaloes, cattle, goats, sheep •Limited hunting: small to large game, jungle fowl •Wage earning: laborers on plantations, gardeners, factory workers, clerks, school teachers, engineers
KOTAS : UPPER NILGIRIS	•Six villages	•Cremation and worship centers	•Side-gabled houses, similar to the Badagas' •Front-gabled temples •Single temple with cupola	•Agriculture:- similar to the Badagas', but on a smaller scale •Grow some acacia and eucalyptus trees •Livestock rearing: similar to the Badagas' •Limited hunting: similar to the Badagas' •Trades: basket makers, blacksmiths, carpenters, smelters, potters •Limited wage earning
BADAGAS : NILGIRI WYNAAD	•Hamlets and dispersed houses	•Burial-cremation and worship centers	•Hipped-roof houses •Pyramidal-roof temples	•Badaga master and Paniya servant relationship •Agriculture:- multilayer, single layer, and kitchen gardens • limited dry field crop production: millets -wet rice cultivation: subsistence base •Livestock rearing: buffaloes, some cattle •Some men working on plantations
KOTAS : NILGIRI WYNAAD	•One village	•Cremation and worship centers	•Front-gabled temple	•Agriculture:- a multilayer garden and small kitchen garden -wet rice cultivation: subsistence base •Livestock rearing: buffaloes, some cattle and goats •Trades: basket makers, blacksmiths, carpenters, smelters, potters

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)

AW50 Badaga AW50
Kota AW55
Kurumba AW56
Toda AW60
Madras Tribes AW63
Kasuva

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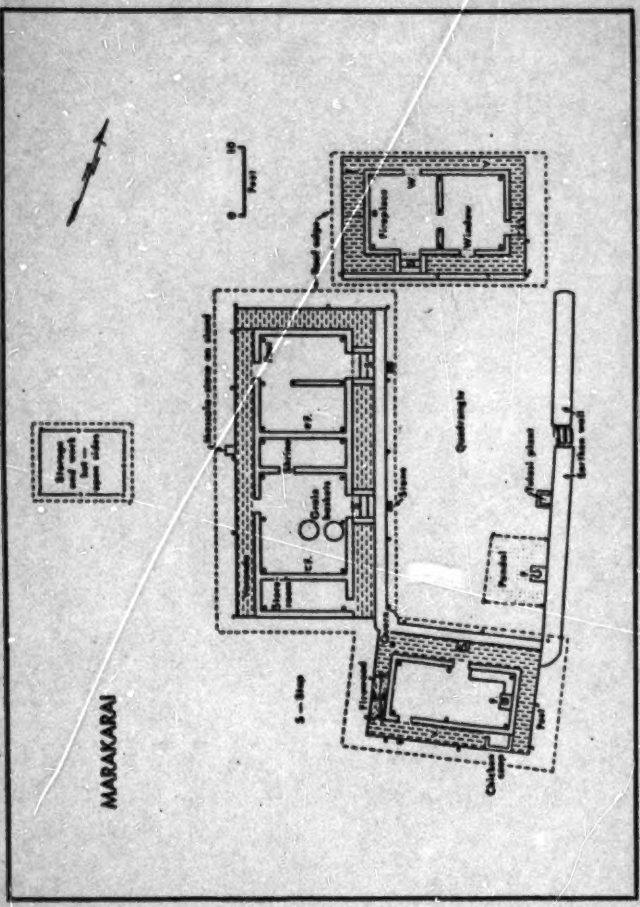

Figure 22. A typical Badaga hamlet

368 there is a burial-cremation center. All communities are in easy walking distance from roads, and narrow paths--sometimes running over
361 487 dikes separating wet rice fields--are used to gain access to roads.

Houses, temples, and shrines. Excluding certain resemblances
342 in the interior plan, the Nilgiri Wynaad Badaga house type is quite
[184] different from the one used by upper Nilgiri Badagas. Each house has an earthen platform, often partially made with fine earth from termite hills (Figures 22 and 23). Six large posts embedded in the platform are surmounted by pole plates supporting a series of rafters. Out from these posts, on or along the edge of the platform, there are additional lesser posts surmounted by pole plates supporting the rafters. The steep-sided hipped roof slopes down from a short horizontal crest to a height of about five feet from the ground (Plate
(824) XII, B). Most roofs have rice straw thatch over bamboo strips lashed onto rafters, but a few houses now have tiled roofs. A rectangular house wall raised around the six large posts is constructed with mud similar to that used in the platform. The wall is built around wooden door frames and occasional window frames. Because there is space left between the wall and platform edges, a veranda runs around the house. An entranceway edged by shallow walls, typically made by Nilgiri Wynaad Badagas, often runs across the veranda. In a house-row some side walls serve two houses, the roof crest is elongated, and a ver-
(353) anda usually runs around the combined houses. A shrine or storage room built next to a normal dwelling is incorporated into a house-row. If a house front is considered to be the side edging a courtyard,

6: Noble K-4,5 (1962-1963) 1989
(1800-1963)

AW50	Badaga	AW50
	Kota	AW55
	Kurumba	AW56
	Toda	AW60
	Madras Tribes	AW63
	Kasuva	

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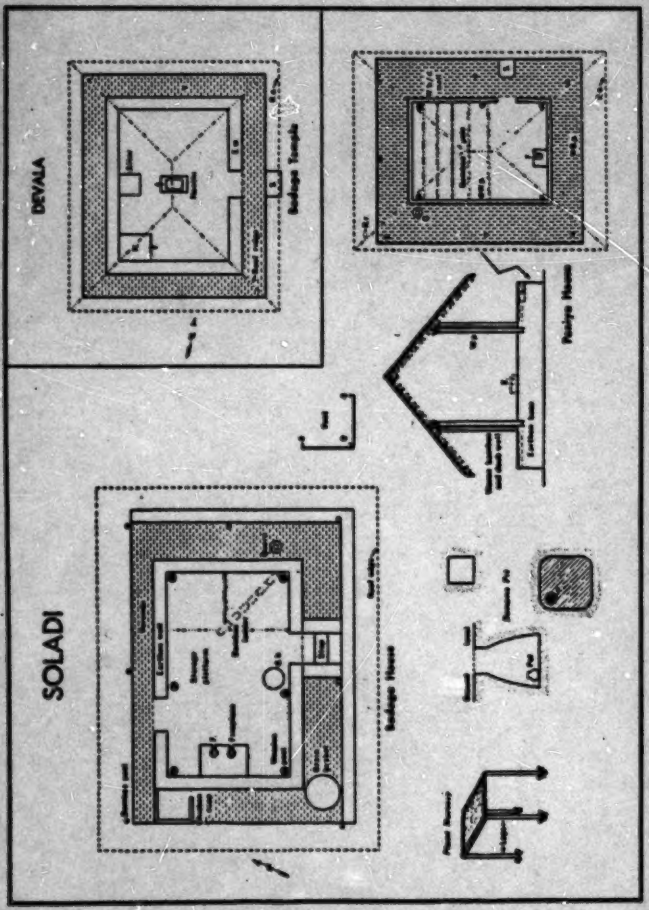

Figure 23. Occupance forms constructed by Wynaad Badagas and Paniyas

342 an entranceway may be placed on either its left or right side. In addition to the front door, a rear or side door is also included. A (231) chicken coop is sometimes built on the veranda, and a large grain (353) basket, quern, firewood, or other objects may be stored there. In house interiors, through placement of storage baskets or dividing wall construction, a left kitchen side may be visibly differentiated from the right living area and sleeping side. If there is no visible reminder, occupants simple remember that such a division exists. As (352) (513) there is no sleeping platform, household members sleep on mats spread over the floor each night. The kitchen fireplace is located next to (354) (353) the center of the left wall, and there is sometimes a large circular drying basket suspended over it. An upper storage platform extending over the warmer kitchen side is reached by a ladder.

346 A Nilgiri Wynaad Badaga temple may outwardly be constructed somewhat like a house (Figure 23). The Devala temple has no inner or outer posts, so squared wooden rafters are attached to wall plates and (178) an emplaced ridgepiece. The hipped roof is tiled. Inside the temple there are two large stone bulls (Nanthis) and an altar next to the center of the rear wall. Temples of a distinctive type serving as worship centers to Badagas and their neighbors have square bases, grilled woodwork in side walls, and pyramidal roofs plated with copper (178) sheets (Plate XII, C). In each temple's interior there is a walled room holding a deity's image, a ceremonial knife, and other ritualistic paraphernalia. Smaller shrines with similar appearance (Plate XII, D) (177) have platforms in their central interiors. The sacred structures with pyramidal roofs are identified with so-called Chinese temples in

9: Natesa Sastri U-5 (no date) 1892
AW50 Badaga AW50

142 field has been their profession for many generations. Mr. Grigg
[147] says "This may account for their extreme thinness; one meets with very few who can be called stout."

562 Among the Badagas the position of the women is somewhat different from what it is among most peoples. Every Badaga has
462 a few acres to cultivate but he does not mainly occupy himself with them, for his wife does all the outdoor farm work, while he is engaged
562 otherwise in earning something in hard cash. To a Badaga therefore his wife is his capital. Her labour in the field is
465 considered to be worth one rupee per day, while an average male Badaga earns merely three annas, or only a fifth part of what his wife really earns as her wages, or is calculated to earn. A Badaga woman who has not her own acres to cultivate finds work
562 on some other lands. She thus works hard for her husband and her family and is quite content with the coarsest food—the *Korali*
461 *(Panicum Italicum)* flour—leaving the better food to the male
142 members of the family. This fact, and the hard work the Badaga women have to perform, may perhaps account to some extent for the slight build of the Badagas as a race. The male Badaga too
461 works in the field, or at his own craft if he is not a cultivator, but
462 his love for ready cash is always so great that even if he had a
562 harvest to gather the next morning, he would run away as a cooly for two annas wages.

181 Having very few wants beyond a few cloths for their dress and a few copper or brass utensils, and accustomed always to frugal habits in their diet and other things, the Badagas are now the most thriving race of all the inhabitants of the Nilagiri District.
142 Their poor dress in a cold climate, their enormous industry, and their continued exposure account for their thinness. It is
461 interesting to notice that as a rule one never sees a stout Badaga or a lean Tôda. The majority of the latter are sunk in idleness. Nothing would be more welcome to a Tôda than to sit facing the sun from morning to evening, with a thick dirty cloth thrown over him, while the Badagas on the other hand are extremely industrious.

342 Though thus poor in his dress and household utensils a Badaga always takes care to have a comfortable and convenient house. It is always a snug house with neat rooms, and all the houses are built on such a uniform pattern that no difference of any kind can be noticed between any two houses: they coincide as exactly as the nests built by the same kind of birds. The first portion, at the entrance, is a small hall called *Edirmané*,—front house. The

9: Natesa Sastri U-5 (no date) 1892
AW50 Badaga AW50

roof of it is well planked, and over it is another small room called *Mêlâdu*—upper storey—which serves as a store-house. Next to the *Edirmanê*, on the right, is the *Hâgôtu*—the milk house—a place of worship to the Badagas, into which the women are not allowed to enter; and adjoining it is the kitchen, called *Hole* by the Badagas; the last of all the rooms is the *Pillê*—bath-room. Thus the front room, a store-room over it, the milk-house, a kitchen and a bath-room complete the arrangement of a Badaga house.

The Badaga invests some money in that most necessary piece of furniture in a cold climate,—a family cot to sleep upon. It is always a broad thick plank of some fine wood—teak, jack or ebony, and is the only substantial movable property of a Badaga.

We shall now describe the Badaga ceremonies and rites, and the best way to exhaust them is to trace an individual from the time of his birth to his death. Of course some difference must exist in the case of males and females, and these we shall note as we proceed.

In the case of a boy little or almost nothing is done to the child as a ceremony till his ninth year. On the third month after his birth he is given a name, and his head is shaved. But nothing further occurs till the baby has grown into a boy of nine years. Then the initiation of the boy into the duties of a Badaga—milking the buffaloes—is performed. In describing the Badaga house I have already made mention of the *Hâgôtu*—the milk house—a place of worship in which the milk is stored up. Females are debarred from entrance into it, and so are the male children till they undergo this ceremony which we are about to describe.

Early in the morning of the day appointed for this ceremony the boy is bathed and appears in his holiday dress. A she-buffalo with her calf stands before his house waiting to be milked. The parents or other elder relations of the boy and those who have been invited to be present on the occasion, or whose duty it is to be present, then conduct the boy to the spot. The father or some one of the agnatic kindred gives into the hands of the boy a bamboo vessel called *Hope* which is already very nearly full of fresh-drawn milk. The boy receives the vessel with both his hands and is conducted to the buffalo. The elder relations show him the process, and the boy sitting down milks a small quantity into the *Hope*. This is his first initiation into the duty of milking; and it is that he may not commit mistakes on the very first day of his milking that the *Hope* is previously filled almost to the brim. It is extremely curious to see that this is observed as a regular ceremony, and it indicates